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STUDIA ANTIQUITATIS

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CAKES AND BREADS IN ORIBASIIUS' *COLLECTIONES MEDICAE*

ABSTRACT. Oribasius (4th century A.D.), Greek doctor, created at least four medical works. The most important of them is *Collectiones medicae*. We are going to present two foods described there: cakes and breads based on cereal products, described in the beginning of the 1st book. For ancient Mediterranean societies cereals were food which constituted the staple of the diet for the overwhelming majority of the population.

Keywords: ancient Greek medicine, the Works of Oribasius, ancient gastronomy, ancient Greek dietetics

In this article¹ we would like to present some information about breads and cakes prepared from cereals and described in the 1st book of *Collectiones medicae* by Oribasius. We are going to focus on the described methods of making those products, discuss their dietary properties and characteristics of consumers (i.e. which social groups consumed those products). A comparison of the text written by Oribasius with excerpts from the works of Galen, a physician, on which the author of *Collectiones medicae* relied most while writing his study, is a key part of this article.

However, before we get to the proper part of the paper, we would like to say a few words about Oribasius and the circumstances under which his work, discussed here, was created. The man, who later became a prominent physician, was probably born in the 20's of 4th century A.D in Pergamum. There he began studying the art of medicine, which he continued later in Alexandria. In the early 50's of 4th century, he met the future emperor Julian (the Apostate), who became his friend. Oribasius accompanied Julian during his stay in Gaul in 355–361, and during his expedition to Persia (363), where he was probably present at

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Julian's death. The new government of the Empire looked unfavorably on Oribasius who was involved in Julian's religious policy, and sentenced him to exile (after 364). The physician spent a few or several years among the barbarians beyond the Danube River, until his exile was finally revoked and he could settle permanently in Constantinople and run a medical practice there. He died probably in the late fourth or early fifth century². Today, he is widely known through his writings. He wrote – in Greek – at least four of them. His magnum opus were *Collectiones medicae*, written probably between 361 and 363 in seventy or seventy-two books, of which about one-third or half of the total have survived to this day. In the first book of this work, created at the request of Julian, and constituting the foundation of contemporary compendium of medical knowledge, Oribasius took up dietetics and began his deliberations on cereals and products derived from them³.

It is well known that grain and food produced from them formed the basis of cuisine of most people living in ancient times in the Mediterranean. For the Greeks and Romans, the most important grain species eaten everyday were wheat (*Triticum aestivum* L., the Greek *pyros*, πυρός), barley (*Hordeum vulgare* L., in Greek *krithe*, κριθή), emmer wheat (*Triticum turgidum* L., in Greek *zeia dikokkos*, ζειὰ δίκοκκος), spelt (*Triticum spelta* L., Greek *olyra*, ὄλυρα) and einkorn wheat (*Triticum monococcum* L., Greek *tife*, τίφη), but sometimes they also ate common millet, (*Panicum miliaceum* L., in Greek *kenchros*, κέγχρος, normally intended for livestock), foxtail millet (*Setaria italica* L., in Greek *elymos*, ἔλυμος, or *meline*, μελίνη) and oats (*Avena sativa*, the Greek *bromos*, βρόμος). Moreover, they knew rye (*Secale cereale* L., *briza*, βρίζα in Greek) and rice (*Oriza sativa* L., *oryza*, ὄρυζα in Greek), the latter was, however, only a luxurious supplement, mostly imported from the East, and only rich people could afford it, therefore, it was not a daily food in the Mediterranean area. Rye was, however, associated with the cuisine of peoples living to the north of Greece proper and was also rarely eaten by the Hellenes and peoples of Italy. After centuries of experimentation and improvement, the Greeks and Romans produced numerous kinds of breads and cakes, soups, slurries and groats from the other grain species mentioned above⁴.

² Regarding life of Oribasius see, for example, Schröder 1940: 797–798; Baldwin 1975: 85–97; Grant 1997: 1–4; Jagusiak / Kokoszko 2011: 5–21.

³ More on Oribasius' works, see Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 216–219; see Schröder 1940: 800–811; De Lucia 1999: 473–489; Nutton 2005: 295–296; Jagusiak / Kokoszko 2013: 339–357.

⁴ The literature on various species of grains grown in antiquity in the region of interest to us, and on number of cereal products in ancient Greece and Rome, is very rich and the attempt to present it extensively is not our goal here. We refer the interested reader to the most important works in which references to specific literature can be found: Dalby 2003a: 45–47, 130–132, 218–219, 234, 281–282, 348–349; Zohary / Hopf 1993: 15–85; Harlan 1977: 357–384; Wilkins / Hill 2006: 110–139; Toussaint-Samat 2009: 201–206; Kokoszko / Jagusiak 2012: 19–38.

Descriptions of some of them can be found in Oribasius' works. At this point, we are going to deal with pancakes made with wheat flour and fried in olive oil; wheat and barley cakes, breads baked with common wheat, barley, spelt, emmer wheat, einkorn wheat, oats, millet and foxtail millet.

When it comes to pancakes (Greek *tagenitai*, ταγενῖται), in one chapter of his work Oribasius stated that to prepare them, olive oil had to be poured into the pan and heated over a non-smoking fire⁵. When oil began to boil, it meant that it was time to pour the freshly prepared mixture of wheat flour (*aleuron*, ἄλευρον) with plenty of water into the pan⁶. Unfortunately, the description lacks precise data on amounts of individual ingredients and their relative proportions. The said mixture should be fried, and the pancake-crepe, which formed during the process, had to be turned over two or three times to fry evenly, until it was ready to be eaten⁷. This type of product had, according to Oribasius, thick juices (παχύχυμος) and contributed to stomach obstruction (στατικὸν γαστρός). Additionally, it caused the formation of unpleasant juices associated with digestive difficulties (probably in the stomach, although the Pergamum physician did not specify that). For this reason, the product was sometimes mixed with honey or sea salt, because both of these additives had laxative properties⁸. However, the text of *Collectiones medicae* does not include the information on whether those ingredients were added to the mixture during its preparation or frying, or to the finished meals, ready for consumption. Nevertheless, in his *tagenitai* description, Oribasius included a brief description of consumers most frequently eating this product. In his opinion, these were villagers and representatives of the poor urban communities⁹.

The 1st book of *Collectiones medicae* included a description of two types of cakes that were kind of varieties of *itrion* (ἴτριον), sweet dough-cake defined as *rhyemata* (ρύηματα¹⁰, nom. sg. ῥύημα) and *lagana* (λάγανα, nom. sg. λάγανον). Both were manufactured with the best wheat flour, but Oribasius considered *rhyemata* better¹¹. Unfortunately, he did not write a single word on their manufacture, ingredients used, or the proportions. Instead, he focused on their impact on the human body. In his opinion, they had thick juices and slowing properties, just like pancakes¹². They could block the flow of food to the

⁵Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 7, 1, 1–2 (in our article we used edition: *Oribasii collectionum medicarum reliquiae*, ed. I. Raeder, vol. I–IV, Lipsiae–Berolini 1928–1933, and we compared it with already mentioned English translation of two Oribasius' books: *Dieting for an emperor...*)

⁶Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 7, 1, 2–3.

⁷Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 7, 1, 3–2, 1.

⁸Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 7, 2, 1–3.

⁹Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 7, 2, 3–6.

¹⁰In Johann Raeder's edition (*Oribasii Collectionum medicarum reliquiae*, vol. I, [Lipsiae/Berolini 1928], pp. 10) this word takes the form *rymmata* (ρύμματα), in our article, however, we follow the version proposed by Mark GRANT (*Dieting for an emperor...*, pp. 42).

¹¹Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 7, 3, 5–4, 1.

¹²Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 7, 4, 1–2.

liver, weaken the pancreas and contribute to the formation of kidney stones¹³. *Lagana* were also not juicy, or distasteful (*achyloteros*, ἀχυλότερος)¹⁴. Yet, at the same time, those cakes were nutritious food that caused the body's production of good blood, as long as it was well digested¹⁵. Addition of a large amount of honey imparted new properties to cakes: they become healthier, their slowing properties diminished, and juices they produced become less thick. In addition, their influence on the liver, pancreas and kidneys ceased to be negative. However, regarding the latter, Oribasius also stated that the addition of honey did not improve the influence of these cakes on the three organs when at the time of consumption they were already in the initial phase of blocking (*emfraksis*, ἐμφραξις), or they were inflamed (*flegmaino*, φλεγμαίνω), or hardened (*skirroo-mai*, σκιρρόομαι). On the contrary, biscuits with honey, especially made with particularly sticky flour, could affect these organs even worse than those without the addition of the sweetener¹⁶. Oribasius concluded his argument by saying that the issue of the impact of adding or avoiding honey in the described cakes on internal organs does not apply to lungs and chest¹⁷.

The physician of Pergamum also described barley cakes. He described them by the term *maza* (μάζα), although the word had also other meanings. It was used for barley soup and a kind of semi-finished product resembling dry biscuits and suitable for dissolving in any broth¹⁸. According to the author, cakes were not nutritious enough for people who exercised, but sufficiently nourished those who did not exercise¹⁹. They were more nutritious and easier to digest than barley bread, but just as bad for the stomach, where they caused upset and bloating²⁰. But again, as in the case earlier products, it was possible to avoid adverse effects of consuming *maza*, by adding honey during kneading the dough, which should be prepared with the finely ground grain and then kneaded firmly and thoroughly²¹. This, undoubtedly essential information about the method of preparing the dough, ends the Oribasius' description of *maza*, which also lacks many other basic details, such as the list of ingredients and proportions, and the manner and time of heat treatment.

Concerning breads described in *Collectiones medicae*, bread that was baked with the common wheat (*artos pyrinos*, ἄρτος πύρινος) and to which much space

¹³Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 7, 4, 2–4.

¹⁴Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 9, 2, 1.

¹⁵Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 7, 4, 4.

¹⁶Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 7, 5, 1–8.

¹⁷Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 7, 5, 8–6, 1.

¹⁸Regarding ambiguity of the term *maza*, see, for example, Dalby 2003a: 47; Braun 1999: 28–30; Bober 1999: 93; Kaufman 2006: 81–82; Wilkins / Hill 2006: 125; Toussaint-Samat 2009: 201–202.

¹⁹Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 12, 1, 1–2, 1.

²⁰Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 12, 2, 1–6.

²¹Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 12, 3, 1–2.

was devoted in the studied work, was recommended by the fourth-century doctor to people who were not young and did not exercise²². Such bread should be baked from the dough mixed with a large quantity of yeast and salt²³, located under a clay cover²⁴, which was then heated with glowing coals, which was one of the popular methods of bread production in the Greco-Roman world²⁵. Later in the same chapter, Oribasius described a product which we can call the “washed bread”, or “flushed bread” (Greek *plytos artos*, πλύτος ἄρτος). It was a kind of very fine and soft bread which, despite or perhaps because of these characteristics, was not good for the human body. It harmed the digestive system because it was too aerated (*aerodesteros*, ἀερωδέστερος) and too light (author likened it to a cork floating on the water surface)²⁶. In the next section of the chapter Oribasius shortly classified different methods of producing bread. According to him, the best method was baking the dough under a clay dome (similar to the one mentioned above). The Pergamum physician called such products *kribanitai* (κριβανῖται) from the word *kribanos* (κρίβανος) meaning a kind of earthen oven²⁷. Breads baked in the oven (*ipnos*, ἰπνός), called *ipnitai* (ἰπνῖται), were ranked second by him, because they were not baked as thoroughly and deeply as *kribanitai*²⁸. Even worse were breads baked in a vessel/container with hot coals, called *escharis* (ἐσχάρις), or in hot ashes, since their surface was over-browned, maybe even burnt, while the inside often remained raw²⁹.

According to Oribasius, breads baked from other species of wheat were characterized by poor quality. In his evaluation, the author of *Collectiones medicae* ranked bread made with flour obtained from spelt next, and einkorn wheat bread next to that. At the same time, Oribasius pointed out that this classification was justified only if the best quality spelt was considered³⁰. If not – spelt bread could be worse than bread made with einkorn wheat, if einkorn wheat flour was of high quality³¹. Freshly baked einkorn wheat bread was perfect both for people living in rural areas and the urban population, and it was gladly served with cheese. Hot einkorn wheat bread was even a product sought after on the market³², and provided the body with enough nourishment³³. Unfortunately, after three or four days it became unpleasant (*aedesteros*, ἀηδέστερος) for consum-

²² Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 8, 1, 1–2.

²³ Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 8, 1, 2.

²⁴ Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 8, 1, 2–2, 1.

²⁵ See for example Curtis 2012: 113–132; Toussaint-Samat 2009: 204–205.

²⁶ Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 8, 3, 1–6.

²⁷ Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 8, 4, 1.

²⁸ Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 8, 4, 1–5, 1.

²⁹ Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 8, 5, 1–6, 1.

³⁰ Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 8, 6, 1–3.

³¹ Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 13, 1, 1–2, 2.

³² Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 13, 2, 2–4, 1.

³³ Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 13, 4, 4–5, 1.

ers (even villagers otherwise accustomed to bad food), heavy and thus difficult to digest (*dyscheresteros*, δυσχερέστερος) and slowly passing down the gastrointestinal tract into the stomach (*bradyporoteros*, βραδυπορώτερος). Those features clearly appeared with the passage of time, because when the bread was fresh and hot, they were not present³⁴.

When it comes to barley bread, Oribasius stated that it was more crumbly, less cohesive and less viscous (*psathyroteroi*, ψαθυρώτεροι) compared with wheat baked products, made both with wheat and spelt, or einkorn wheat³⁵. Their fragility was due to the fact that the raw material from which the dough for baking was made, namely barley, was not at all sticky (*glischros*, γλίσχρος)³⁶, which should probably be understood as low in gluten. Barley bread therefore, according to Oribasius, provided little nourishment to the body³⁷.

Another type of bread discussed in *Collectiones medicae* was baked with oats. Oribasius, like most of the inhabitants of the ancient Mediterranean³⁸, considered it a grain appropriate for livestock feed and not fit for human beings, but admitted that sometimes also people, having no alternative and faced with starvation, had to eat bread made with that type of grain.³⁹ Such products were unpleasant and distasteful (*aedes*, ἀηδής), although they did not affect the stomach adversely⁴⁰.

Oribasius also devoted some space in the first book of his work to breads baked from the dough prepared with millet and foxtail millet, but he only wrote that the population made them when faced with famine caused by a lack of basic cereals⁴¹. Loaf of bread baked with millet or foxtail millet was described by the author as providing little nourishment (*oligotrofos*, ὀλιγοτρόφος) and cool (*psychros*, ψυχρός), also brittle (*krauros*, κραῦρος) and crumbly (*psathyros*, ψαθυρός)⁴². These features cause the product to dry a wet stomach⁴³.

These considerations were supplemented with some general remarks about breads, without distinguishing between the different types of cereals. The Per-

³⁴ Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 13, 4, 1–4.

³⁵ Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 10, 2, 1–3.

³⁶ Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 10, 2, 3.

³⁷ Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 10, 2, 3–4.

³⁸ Regarding the attitudes of ancient Greeks and Romans towards oats products and their use, see, for example, Dalby 1996: 90; Dalby 2003b: 77–78; Alcock 2006: 34; Wilkins / Hill 2006: 118–119. See also Columella's opinion (1st century A.D.) – Columella, *De re rustica*, II, 10, 25, and the author of the *Geoponica* treatise (5th/10th century A.D.) – *GEOPONICA*, XVIII, 2, 6.

³⁹ Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 14, 1, 1–3. It is worth noting that in the same chapter Oribasius wrote that oat based gruel, sweetened with wine or honey, was also eaten in times other than famine.

⁴⁰ Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 14, 2, 3–5.

⁴¹ Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 15, 1, 1–2.

⁴² Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 15, 1, 2–3.

⁴³ Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 15, 1, 3–2, 1.

gamum physician wrote that thin breads were distasteful (*achyloterai*, ἀχυλότεροί) and innutritious (*atrofoterai*, ἀτροφώτεροι)⁴⁴, while once baked breads were less nutritious (*hesson trefousi*, ἥσσον τρέφουσι) than twice baked, or biscuits (*dipyroi*, δίπυροι) which consisted of smaller particles (*leptomerai*, λεπτομερές) and thus were easier to assimilate (*eudioketon*, εὐδιοίκητον), and less spongy (*chaunos*, χαῖνος). Oribasius explained that by the twice repeated, in the latter case, process of baking, broken by powdering the bread and preparing a new loaf for baking from the obtained powder⁴⁵. He also noted that the hot and fresh bread was much better than the cold and old, because its heat helped digestion⁴⁶.

Later in this article we intend to discuss the relation of quoted passages of *Collectiones medicae* to the treatise written almost 200 years before, known today as *De alimentorum facultatibus*⁴⁷ by Galen (ca. 130 – ca. 200/210). The close relationship between the writings of both authors is not a secret, because from the very beginning, the intention of Oribasius and his master and friend, Julian the Apostate, was to derive freely from the enormous legacy of the predecessor and complement the thus distilled information with passages taken from other authors⁴⁸. Besides, Oribasius had a habit of informing sometimes his readers where he derived his knowledge from, and such was the case with most of the passages on bread and cakes covered in the first book of his work. The rest is provided by a direct comparison of the texts. Our goal is to show which specific fragments of *De alimentorum facultatibus* were used by Oribasius and in what order it was done, and in case of two selected chapters we are going to quote specific parts of both works to illustrate the phenomena discussed by us.

In the chapter regarding, among other things, pancakes and wheat cakes, titled *Peri ton eks aleurou pemmaton* (Περὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀλεύρου πεμμάτων) Oribasius combined two chapters of Galen's work titled *Peri pemmaton* (Περὶ πεμμάτων) and *Peri itrion* (Περὶ ἰτρίων), omitting only a few lines from the beginning and the last section of the first of the mentioned chapters, single words here and there, and changing the word order at one point. On the other hand, he copied only the beginning of the *Peri itrion* chapter, omitting the rest, representing about 85% of the original text. The ending of Oribasius' chapter was copied from another Galen's chapter under the title *Peri plytou artou* (Περὶ πλυτοῦ ἄρτου) by cutting a few lines from the initial section, and a large portion of text from the end, a total of about 75% of the entire work. When copying excerpts from the work of his predecessor, he sometimes also introduced cosmetic changes, consisting of small deviations from spelling of certain words. Oribasius wrote the middle

⁴⁴ Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 9, 1, 1.

⁴⁵ Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 9, 2, 1–3, 1.

⁴⁶ Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 9, 3, 1–3.

⁴⁷ Galen, *De alimentorum facultatibus*.

⁴⁸ See: Oribasius, *Prologos*, I, 1–2, 6 in Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*; Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 217.

section of this chapter (I, 7, 5, 1–9), which is almost 25% of the total, on his own, or using another, unknown source (see Table 1).

Oribasius' working method, involving the literal quoting a source combined with free approach to the excerpted text, is well illustrated by the chapter on barley cakes, *Peri alfiton kai mazes, ek ton Galenou* (Περὶ ἀλφίτων καὶ μάζης, ἐκ τῶν Γαληνοῦ) in which two fragments derived from Galen were combined: one is based on *Peri alfiton* (Περὶ ἀλφίτων) but not copied word for word, and two more from the middle of the *Peri mazes* (Περὶ μάζης) are quoted almost *verbatim*, with only a few shortcuts. In case of the first one, we can talk about only one sentence taken freely from an entire chapter of 19 verses, and the other is an excerpt from the middle of a much longer section of Galen's work and accounts for only about 15% of the original text (see Table 2).

In the remaining chapters on breads and cakes, which Oribasius modeled on passages from Galen, similar way of selection and use of materials can be noticed. For example, in the chapter on wheat breads (*Peri arton pyrinon*, Περὶ ἄρτων πυρίνων, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 8, 1, 1–6, 3) passages from four different locations in *De alimentorum facultatibus* were used. The beginning was created by copying almost the entire ending of the Galen's chapter *Peri itrion* (Περὶ ἰτρίων, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 494, 1–6, therefore here and below I have included a record of specific locations, and not the whole chapter.) Oribasius then transcribed almost word for word the beginning of the next section, titled *Peri plutou artou* (Περὶ πλυτοῦ ἄρτου, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 494, 10–15), only to add just a few sentences from the last section of the long chapter *Peri pyron* (Περὶ πυρῶν, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 489, 8–15) by Galen. At the end, he placed a single, slightly altered sentence from the extensive chapter *Peri tifon kai olyron kai dzeion* (Περὶ τιφῶν καὶ ὀλυρῶν καὶ ζειῶν, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 518, 4–6). With the exception of the last passage, which seems unnecessary at this point, all of the selected fragments formed a coherent whole.

As for the chapter on breads made with einkorn wheat and spelt (*Peri tifon kai olyron*, Περὶ τιφῶν καὶ ὀλυρῶν, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 13, 1, 1–6, 5), the very title suggests the source, from which the author derived the information used for writing. Namely Oribasius carefully excerpted central parts of the aforementioned chapter *Peri tifon kai olyron kai dzeion* of *De alimentorum facultatibus* (518, 4–8; 518, 10–14; 518, 15–519, 5; 519, 6–13; 519, 15–520, 4), omitting only a few lines. However, the latter of the texts is significantly shorter than the original, and having only 23 lines, it represents only a small fraction of 185 verses in Galen's chapter.

Chapter *Peri krithon, ek ton Galenou* (Περὶ κριθῶν, ἐκ τῶν Γαληνοῦ, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 10, 1, 1–2, 4), devoted to barley breads, was copied from two pieces of works by Galen. Oribasius took first verses, which account for about half of the total, from *Peri krithon* (Περὶ κριθῶν, *De alimentorum facultatibus*,

[Table 1]

Oribasius, <i>Collectiones medicae</i> , I, 7, 1, 1–3, 4.	Galen, <i>De alimentorum facultatibus</i> , 490, 9–492, 2 (fragment).
<p>Οἱ ταγηνίται σκευάζονται δι' ἐλαίου μόνου·βάλλεται δὲ τὸ μὲν ἔλαιον εἰς τήγανον ἐπικείμενον ἀκάπνῳ πυρί, καταχεῖται δ' αὐτῷ θερμανθέντι τὸ τῶν πυρῶν ἄλευρον ὕδατι δεδευμένον πολλῷ· διὰ ταχέων οὖν ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῳ ἐψόμενον συνίσταται καὶ παχύνεται παραπλησίως ἀπαλῷ τυρῷ· τηνικαῦτα δ' ἤδη καὶ στρέφουσιν οἱ σκευάζοντες αὐτό, τὴν μὲν ἄνωθεν ἐπιφάνειαν ἐργαζόμενοι κάτωθεν ὡς ὁμιλεῖν τῷ ταγήνῳ, τὸ δ' αὐτάρκως ἐψόμενον, ὃ κάτωθεν ἦν πρότερον, εἰς ὕψος ἀνάγοντες ὡς ἐπιπολῆς εἶναι· κάπειδαν ἤδη καὶ τὸ κάτω παγῇ, στρέφουσιν αὐθις αὐτὸ δῖς πού καὶ τρίς, ἄχρι περ ἂν ὁμαλῶς αὐτοῖς ἐψηθῇ δόξη. εὐδηλον οὖν ὅτι παχύχυμὸν τε τοῦτό ἐστι καὶ στατικὸν γαστρὸς καὶ χυμῶν ὁμῶν γεννητικόν· διὸ καὶ τινες αὐτῷ μιγνύουσι μέλιτος, εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ τῶν θαλαττίων ἁλῶν· εἴη δ' ἂν ἤδη τοῦτό γε πλακοῦντός τι γένος, ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα πλακοῦντων εἶδη συντιθέασιν ἀποσχέδια οἷ τε κατ' ἄγρον ἄνθρωποι καὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλιν οἱ πένητες. καὶ γὰρ οὖν καὶ ὅσα διὰ κριβάνου τῶν ἁζύμων πεμμάτων ὁπτῶσιν, εἰ τα ἀφελόντες ἐμβάλλουσιν εἰς μέλι θερμὸν εὐθέως, ὡς δέξασθαι δι' ὅλων ἐαυτῶν αὐτό, καὶ ταῦτα πλακοῦντός τι γένος ἐστί, καὶ τὰ διὰ τῶν ἱτρίων σκευαζόμενα μετὰ μέλιτος πάντα.</p>	<p>Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πεμμάτων, ὅσα σκευάζουσιν ἐξ ἁλεύρου πυρίνου, καιρὸς ἂν εἴη λέγειν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ταγηνίται παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς ὀνομαζόμενοι, παρ' ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἑλλησι τηγανίται σκευάζονται δι' ἐλαίου μόνου. βάλλεται δὲ τὸ μὲν ἔλαιον εἰς τήγανον ἐπικείμενον ἀκάπνῳ πυρί, καταχεῖται δ' αὐτῷ θερμανθέντι τὸ τῶν πυρῶν ἄλευρον ὕδατι δεδευμένον πολλῷ. διὰ ταχέων οὖν ἐψόμενον ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῳ συνίσταται καὶ παχύνεται παραπλησίως ἀπαλῷ τυρῷ κατὰ τοὺς ταλάρους πηγνυμένῳ. τηνικαῦτα δ' ἤδη καὶ στρέφουσιν οἱ σκευάζοντες αὐτό, τὴν μὲν ἄνωθεν ἐπιφάνειαν ἐργαζόμενοι κάτωθεν, ὡς ὁμιλεῖν τῷ ταγήνῳ, τὸ δ' αὐτάρκως ἡψημένον, ὃ κάτωθεν ἦν πρότερον, εἰς ὕψος ἀνάγοντες, ὡς ἐπιπολῆς εἶναι, κάπειδαν ἤδη καὶ τὸ κάτω παγῇ, στρέφουσιν αὐθις αὐτὸ δῖς πού καὶ τρίς, ἄχρι περ ἂν ὅλον ὁμαλῶς αὐτοῖς ἡψηθῇ δόξη. εὐδηλον οὖν, ὅτι παχύχυμὸν τε τοῦτ' ἐστὶ καὶ στατικὸν γαστρὸς καὶ χυμῶν ὁμῶν γεννητικόν. διὸ καὶ τινες αὐτῷ μιγνύουσι μέλιτος, εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ τῶν θαλαττίων ἁλῶν. εἴη δ' ἂν ἤδη τοῦτό γε πλακοῦντός τι γένος ἢ εἰς δὸς ἢ ὅπως ἂν ὀνομάζειν ἐθέλῃς, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τοιαῦτα πλακοῦντων εἶδη συντιθέασιν αὐτοσχεδίως οἷ τε κατ' ἄγρον ἄνθρωποι καὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλιν οἱ πενέστατοι. τοιγαροῦν καὶ ὅσα διὰ κριβάνου τῶν ἁζύμων πεμμάτων ὁπτῶσιν, εἰ τ' ἀφελόντες ἐμβάλλουσιν εὐθέως εἰς μέλι θερμόν, ὡς δέξασθαι δι' ὅλων ἐαυτῶν αὐτό, καὶ ταῦτα πλακοῦντός τι γένος ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ διὰ τῶν ἱτρίων σκευαζόμενα μετὰ μέλιτος πάντα.</p>

Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 7, 3,
4–4, 4.

διττὸν δὲ τῶν ἱτρίων τὸ εὖδος ἄμεινον
μὲν ὃ καλοῦσι ῥυήματα, φαυλότερον
δὲ τὰ λάγανα. πάντα γοῦν ὅσα διὰ
τούτων καὶ σεμιδάλεως συντίθεται
παχύχυμά τέ ἐστι καὶ βραδυπόρα καὶ
τῶν καθ' ἥπαρ διεξόδων τῆς τροφῆς
ἐμφρακτικά καὶ σπληνὸς ἀσθενοῦς
αὐξητικά καὶ λίθων ἐν νεφροῖς
γεννητικά, τρόφιμα δ' ἱκανῶς, εἰ
πεφθῇ τε καὶ καλῶς αἵματωθεῖη.

Galen, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 492,
3–494, 8 (fragment).

Διττὸν δὲ τῶν ἱτρίων τὸ εὖδος, ἄμεινον
μὲν, ὃ καλοῦσι ῥυήματα, φαυλότερον
δὲ τὰ λάγανα. πάντ' οὖν, ὅσα διὰ
τούτων τε καὶ σεμιδάλεως συντίθεται,
παχύχυμά τ' ἐστι καὶ βραδυπόρα καὶ
τῶν καθ' ἥπαρ διεξόδων τῆς τροφῆς
ἐμφρακτικά καὶ σπληνὸς ἀσθενοῦς
αὐξητικά καὶ λίθων ἐν νεφροῖς
γεννητικά, τρόφιμα δ' ἱκανῶς, εἰ
πεφθῇ τε καὶ καλῶς αἵματωθεῖη. τὰ
δὲ σὺν μέλιτι σκευαζόμενα μικτῆς γί-
γνεται δυνάμεως, ὥς ἂν τοῦ μέλιτος
αὐτοῦ τε λεπτὸν ἔχοντος χυμὸν ὅσοις
τ' ἂν ὀμιλήσῃ καὶ ταῦτα λεπτύνοντος.

Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 7, 6,
1–7, 4.

ἐψόντων δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν πολλῶν ἄλευρον
πυροῦ μετὰ γάλακτος, ἰστέον καὶ τοῦτο
ἔδεσμα τῶν ἐμπλαττομένων ὑπάρχον.
ὥσπερ γὰρ εὐχυμά τε
καὶ τρόφιμα πάντα ἐστὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα
τῶν ἐδεσμάτων, οὕτως βλέπτει τοὺς
διηνεκῶς αὐτοῖς χρωμένους, ἐμφράξεις
τε ποιούμενα καθ' ἥπαρ καὶ λίθους ἐν
νεφροῖς γεννῶντα.

Galen, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 494,
9–496, 2 (fragment).

ἐψόντων δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς
πολλῶν ἄλευρον πυροῦ μετὰ γάλακτος
ἰστέον καὶ | τοῦτο τὸ ἔδεσμα τῶν
ἐμπλαττόντων ὑπάρχον. ὥσπερ οὖν
εὐχυμά τε καὶ τρόφιμα πάντ' ἐστὶ τὰ
τοιαῦτα τῶν ἐδεσμάτων, οὕτω βλέπτει
τοὺς διηνεκῶς αὐτοῖς χρωμένους
ἐμφράξεις τε ποιούμενα καθ' ἥπαρ
καὶ λίθους ἐν νεφροῖς γεννῶντα. τοῦ
μὲν γὰρ ὁμοῦ χυμοῦ προσλαβόντος
τὸ γλίσχρον, ὅταν αἱ κατὰ τοὺς
νεφροὺς διέξοδοι στενότεραί τιςιν
ὑπάρχωσι φύσει, χρονίζον αὐτόθι
τὸ παχύτατόν τε καὶ γλισχρότατον
ἔτοιμόν ἐστι γεννῆσαι πῶρον, ὁποῖος
τοῖς ἀγγείοις, ἐν οἷς τὸ ὕδωρ θερμαί-
νομεν, ἐπιτρέφεται, καὶ τοῖς λί-
θοις περιπύγνυται κατὰ πολλὰ τῶν
αὐτοφυῶν ὑδάτων θερμῶν.

[Table 2]

Oribasius, <i>Collectiones medicae</i> , I, 12, 1, 1–2, 1.	Galen, <i>De alimentorum facultatibus</i> , 506, 14–508, 2 (fragment)
Τροφήν μὲν ὀλίγην δίδωσι τοῖς σώμασι καὶ τοῖς γυμναζομένοις ἐλάττονα, τοῖς δ' ἀγυμνάστοις ἱκανήν.	χρῶνται δ' ἀλφίτοις ἔν τισι τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐν ἄρτου χρειᾷ, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν εἶδον ἐν Κύπρῳ, καίτοι πλείστον γεωργοῦσι σίτον. οἱ παλαιοὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς στρατευομένοις ἄλφιτα παρεσκεύαζον. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τό γε νῦν ἔτι τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτικὸν ἀλφίτοις χρήται κατεγνωκὸς αὐτῶν ἀσθένειαν. ὀλίγην γὰρ τροφὴν δίδωσι τοῖς σώμασι, τοῖς μὲν ἰδιωτικῶς διακειμένοις καὶ ἀγυμνάστοις αὐτάρκη, τοῖς δ' ὀπωσοῦν γυμναζομένοις ἐνδεῆ. γί- γνονται δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν ὑγρῷ φυραθέντων αἱ μᾶζαι, περὶ ὧν ἐφεξῆς ἐροῦμεν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Φυλότιμος ἐπὶ πλέον ὑπ- ερ αὐτῶν διελθὼν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ τροφῆς ὅμως ἀδιόριστον εἶασε τὸ χρησιμώτατον ἐν αὐταῖς.
Oribasius, <i>Collectiones medicae</i> , I, 12, 2, 1–3, 2.	Galen, <i>De alimentorum facultatibus</i> , 508, 4–510, 14 (fragment)
ἡ δὲ μᾶζα τοσοῦτον ἀπολείπεται εἰς τροφὴν σώματος ἄρτου κριθίνου, ὅσον οὗτος πυρίνου· πέττεται δὲ καὶ ἥττον τῶν κριθίνων ἄρτων ἡ μᾶζα καὶ φύσης μᾶλλον ἐμπύπλησι τὴν γαστέρα, καὶ εἰ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐν αὐτῇ μένοι, ταραχὴν ἐργάζεται μᾶλλον τε διαχωρεῖ κάτω φυραθεῖσα καὶ τριφθεῖσα μέχρι πλεί- ονος· εἰ δὲ καὶ μέλι προσλάβοι, θάττον ἔτι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρορμήσει τὴν γαστέρα πρὸς ἔκκρισιν.	εὐδηλον οὖν ἐστὶ τῷ ταῦτ' ἐννοήσαντι, τοσοῦτον ἀπολείπεσθαι μᾶζαν εἰς τροφήν σώματος ἄρτων κριθίνων, ὅσον οὗτοι πυρίνων. ἐχούσης γὰρ ἥδη φύσει τῆς κριθῆς τὸ πιτυρῶδες οὐκ ὀλίγον ἢ φρυγεῖσα ξηρότερον μὲν καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ δυσθραυστότερον ἴσχει, ξηρότερον δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦτου κρεῖττον, ἐξ οὗ τὴν τροφὴν ἐλάμβανε τὸ σῶμα. κατὰ τοῦτ' οὖν ἥττον τε πέττεται τῶν κριθίνων ἄρτων ἡ μᾶζα καὶ φύσης μᾶλλον ἐμπύ- πλησι τὴν γαστέρα καὶ ἢ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐν αὐτῇ μείνη, ταραχὴν ἐργάζεται. μᾶλλον δὲ διαχωρεῖ κάτω φυραθεῖσα καὶ τριφθεῖσα μέχρι πλείονος. εἰ δὲ καὶ μέλι προσλάβοι, θάττον ἔτι καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ παρορμήσει τὴν γαστέρα πρὸς ἔκκρισιν.

501, 3–4; 501, 6–8; 501, 11–12), but introduced a number of amendments to the original text. The remaining part was copied almost word for word from the beginning of the Galen's chapter *Peri krithinon arton* (Περὶ κριθίνων ἄρτων, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 504, 8–10), on a similar subject.

The next chapter, where information about bread prepared with oats can be found, is *Peri bromou* (Περὶ βρόμου, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 14, 1, 1–2, 5.) It is almost identical to the chapter *De alimentorum facultatibus* of the same title (Περὶ βρόμου, 522, 16–523, 8). Oribasius omitted only a portion of the first and second sentences, and a few words from the ending of the original.

The last chapter discussed by us was the one in which the information on millet and foxtail millet was presented, (*Peri kenchrou kai elymou, hon kai melinen onomadzousin*, Περὶ κέγχρου καὶ ἐλύμου, ὃν καὶ μελίνην ὀνομάζουσιν, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 15, 1, 1–4, 4). Its content is very much like the Galen's chapter with an almost identical title (Περὶ κέγχρου καὶ ἐλύμου, ὃν καὶ μελί νην ὀνομάζουσιν, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 523, 9–524, 6). Oribasius omitted some of its parts, namely a few verses from the end, and some single words in the rest of the text, which nevertheless, in this fairly short chapter, amounted to almost 30% of the original text in total.

Among the fragments we analyzed, one was not derived by the author of *Collectiones medicae* from the works of Galen, but from the thirtieth book of the lost works of Athenaeus of Attalia, devoted to general information about the properties of bread, without any breakdown by grain species forming flour that the dough was prepared with. In the absence of the original text, it is impossible to say how faithful the Oribasius version was to the original, however, after reading this passage it can be inferred that it was a combination of a few fragments scattered in various locations of the source.

In conclusion, it is worth noting that in chapters of *Collectiones medicae* on cakes and breads I have cited in this article, Oribasius described only a very small part of the huge variety of baked products manufactured in Greco-Roman antiquity⁴⁹. This is especially apparent when his text is compared with *Deipnosophistai* by Athenaeus of Naucratis, who described several types of breads and pastries, probably without exhausting the topic⁵⁰. It should, however, be remembered that it was not Oribasius' purpose to draw up a detailed list of baked products available in his time, or make an accurate representation of their methods of production, the equipment used, the ratio between the individual ingredients or similar nuances inherent in the culinary arts. Writing his work, the physician of Pergamum wanted, above all, to present a medical opinion on the main cereals

⁴⁹ Regarding the variety of ancient baked products see Dalby 2003a: 53–54; 58–61; 68–71.

⁵⁰ See Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, III, 108 f – 116 a; III, 124 a; III, 125 f – 126 a; IV, 134 e; IV, 137, b–c; IV 139, a–d; IV 140, a – 141 c; IV, 147, b–c; IV, 148, f – 149 a; IV 149 e–f; IV 151 a–b; IV 160 a–b; IV 161 a, etc (we used edition: *Athenaei Naucratis deipnosophistarum libri XV*, rec. G. Kaibel, vol. I–III, Lipsiae–Berolini 1887–1890).

and food products derived from their processing. At the same time, he probably thought that this form of presentation of the products in question, taken from his sources anyway, was quite enough for him, due to widespread presence and availability of those products on the market, which did not require clarification of the description. This belief was justified inasmuch, that in the opinion of the author of *Collectiones medicae*, the text was not intended for gourmets or practitioners of gastronomy, but for medical students who were not interested (at least when they reached for the work discussed here) in finding a precise description of any type of baked product available in the Mediterranean world, but wanted to find a general textbook information about certain cereal products and their impact on the human body.

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CIASTO I CHLEB W *COLLECTIONES MEDICAE* ORIBASIIUSA

Streszczenie

Orybajusz (IV w. n.e.), grecki lekarz, stworzył co najmniej cztery dzieła medyczne. Najważniejszym z nich są *Collectiones medicae*. Zamierzamy przedstawić dwa rodzaje pożywienia tam opisane: ciasta i chleby oparte na produktach zbożowych, opisane na początku I księgi.

Dla starożytnych społeczeństw śródziemnomorskich zboża były pożywieniem, które stanowiło podstawę diety przytłaczającej większości populacji. Głównymi zbożami stosowanymi przez Greków i Rzymian były pszenica zwyczajna, pszenica samopsza, orkisz i jęczmień.

Orybajusz opisał niektóre produkty z nich wyrabiane: pszenicę gotowaną w wodzie, lub mleku, kaszę wyrabianą z pszenicy, mąkę pszenną. Dla nas bardziej istotne są: naleśniki pieczone na oliwie, wyrabiane z pszenicy zmieszanej z wodą; pszenne ciasta z dodatkiem miodu; ciasta jęczmienne. Jeśli chodzi o chleby, zaprezentował on informacje o chlebach pszennych, chlebie jęczmiennym, chlebie robionym z samopszy, płaskurki i orkisz.

Orybajusz rozważył różnice w pożywności tych ciast i chlebów, ich dietetyczne i medyczne właściwości, wziął także pod uwagę wpływ takich czynników, jak: sposoby przygotowania (pieczenie, smażenie), składniki (drożdże, sól, miód), a także czas pomiędzy upieczeniem, a konsumpcją. W podobny sposób opisał właściwości sucharów.

Celem artykułu jest pokazanie, która część społeczeństwa, według Orybajusza, jadła chleby i ciasta która nie i dlaczego, ukazać technologię pieczenia chlebów i ciast opisaną w jego pracy (smażenie na patelni, pieczenie pod glinianą pokrywą czy przyrządzanie w gorącym popiele) i pokazać gradację chlebów. Ponadto staraliśmy się przedstawić dietetyczne właściwości tych produktów i etiologię chorób związanych z nimi w opinii Orybajusza.

Jeśli chodzi o źródła Orybajuszowych opinii na ten temat, jego poglądy pochodzą głównie z *De alimentorum facultatibus* napisanego przez Galena. Próbowaliśmy porównać stosowne pasusy tych dwóch źródeł i pokazać podobieństwa i różnice w obu tekstach.